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move in a few days, and as they have not yet attacked us, as everyone has expected and as it was reported that they would do, they may leave us in peace. Although I shall continue to work as long as possible, I do not think I can keep the men for more than another ten days, and our only course is then to go to Bagdad to pass the summer, or to await further instructions."

EXTRACTS FROM A LETTER FROM REV. MR. USSHER.

"BAGDAD, May 20, 1904.

" . . . For the past two months and more, I have been visiting the various points in Turkey-in-Asia at which excavations are being carried on in the interests of science, wholly for personal pleasure. Yesterday, I returned from a week's visit to Bismya, where I received a cordial welcome from Dr. E. J. Banks, of whose magnificent work under the most trying circumstances, surely you and your University may justly feel proud. . . .

" . . . During the past four months, I have visited all the fields of work in operation except Tel Lo. This includes Nineveh, Nimroud, Kaleh Shergat, Toprak Kalah, Babylon, Babel, Nippur, Tel Ibrahim, Fara, Abu Hatab, and Bismya, a journey which none of the explorers in this field have taken. May I not feel somewhat qualified therefore to speak thus? I can assure you after having seen them all, studied their methods, made the personal acquaintance of those in charge, and feeling fairly well informed as to the results, that Bismya will add a crowning glory to them all, not even surpassed by Nippur, of which the University of Pennsylvania is so proud, and justly so. Bismya, after four months of the most economical management, under the trials and deprivations which *none* of the other excavators have experienced because they are all differently situated (save perhaps Fara where the Germans were obliged to cease working), has yielded a sufficient return to reimburse the University of Chicago manifold, and open up new fields of research in the language, religion and arts of pre-Sargonic history hitherto unknown. Bismya seems to have been a ruin before Nippur began to be great, such is its antiquity."

ROBERT FRANCIS HARPER, *Director*.

HASKELL ORIENTAL MUSEUM,
July 20, 1904.

EXCAVATIONS MADE BY THE FRENCH IN SUSA AND
BABYLONIA, 1902-1903.

In the excavations made in Susa during the winter of 1902-1903 by M. de Morgan and his companions, the ancient city did not disappoint those whom in preceding years it had attracted with its largess of archæological

wealth. I had the good fortune to be a witness of this rich donation, because I had been obliged once more to make the long journey thither, in order to undertake the sorting of bricks bearing inscriptions, which the pick of the excavator found in great numbers. As their inscriptions are often exactly the same, it is useless to transport them to Europe at a heavy cost. A sorting is therefore necessary and will be necessary as often as every five years.

About the middle of December the work of excavation was again in full progress. The *tell* called the Acropolis of Susa had rewarded the labors of the archæologist too well to be abandoned now. So the work was resumed in the trenches already made. These were sometimes widened, sometimes deepened according to a systematic plan, the aim of which was to clear away the whole mass. Small dump-carts conveyed by rail to the plain what had been dug out. This débris forming, in its turn, a mound which encircled the ex-Acropolis became the rim of the crater-like excavation.

Satisfactory as might be the results of the work in Susa itself, M. de Morgan wished to extend still further his field of operation and establish a new center of excavation outside of Susa at the distance of two or three days by caravan. It was M. J. Et. Gautier, already known by his excavations at Licht in Egypt (the results of which have been given in a fine volume of the *Nouveaux Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie du Caire*), who directed the excavations at Tepe-Moussian, a very interesting old ruin, as will be seen later on.

During this season the work was not interrupted by any troublesome incident and proceeded peacefully until the end of March. M. Gautier, alone in a wild region among people unaccustomed to the presence of strangers and explorers, had to suffer annoyances often malevolent; but with the aid of M. Lampre, attaché and chancellor of the scientific delegation, he was able to rid himself of them.

Of what interest is the narration of the excavations in themselves? Such narration would be tedious, for the reader is familiar with the descriptions always the same, in which, through long pages, the author give but a few facts worthy of interest and these interposed between the accounts of bad digestion or nights of insomnia. Let us spare those whose taste is rather of a scientific and archæologic order, and let us mention here only the results of these excavations.

We know already by information previously acquired that there was in Elam a kind of Euphratean civilization, but there is truly no way by which we can fully determine whether it was borrowed from the Chaldean towns

or developed parallel to theirs. Maspero rightly says (*Débats*, December 26, 1900): "There is a marked tendency among scholars when they study very ancient peoples to think that they are near the beginnings and to ascribe a common origin to the civilizations which they have found to be similar. They endeavor to trace a derivation where there are only reciprocal influences of contemporary nations." At the time we are considering the affairs of Elam, about 4000-3000 B. C., we find so many similarities between what we know of this country and of Chaldea that we are inclined naturally to conclude that there has been a borrowing and, as it is Chaldea which seemed to have the earliest supremacy, we decide that Elam has been the borrower. We should be reminded, however, that even then between 4000 and 3000 B.C. the nations of the Euphrates and Tigris were far remote from the places of their origin. What has been learned so far from new documents is, that as far back as we can go, Elam and the Euphratean states formed a political body, the equilibrium of which suffered almost periodical disturbance, the center of gravity falling sometimes within the east toward Susa, sometimes within the west toward Kiš, Agadê, Ur, Babylon. This state of things was not new at the time when the documents disclosed it to us, but had lasted with modifications for a long period. The excavations at Susa have only been begun, but already they bring to light many relics of a still earlier period which reveal to us a current of civilization quite independent of Euphratean nations.

The recent finds have in fact furnished more than two hundred pieces of an unknown writing having apparently no connection with the already known Babylonian system of writing. We are concerned in these with signs chiefly geometrical, originally such or having become such from the use of clay, as it happened in the case of the Babylonian hieroglyphics. In spite of the great antiquity which these new finds reveal, they reveal to us the end of an evolution of numberless years. We have here a new set of symbols and likewise, we may say, the medium of expression of a new language far anterior to all that we know of writing in lower Chaldea or elsewhere.

As may be expected, the new documents that we are studying preparatory to giving them soon to scholars are divided into two classes. A system of writing once mastered is used naturally for something else than poetry. The first use of an art is for the necessities of life; contracts and bargains were written before the description of the prowess of a Humbaba or a Gilgames! Hence, with few exceptions, our documents concern book-keeping. Three only adorn the bases of statues or other monuments of stone, enough however to prove that history had already been born.

How short a distance our science of beginnings actually covers, for its limits are always receding! How incomplete is our knowledge of the factors which enter into civilization, the number of which is always increasing! What a lesson of humility for the scholars, and in general for all those who boast of being the point of departure for all art, all truth, all teaching! Even if we could not decipher a single word of these new texts, there would still remain a fact of considerable importance, before which the question, for example, of an exclusive Semitism or binationalism in ancient Mesopotamia becomes but trivial.

In leaving this shadowy period let me call attention to a statue in diorite of the great Naram Sin. At present we have only the base of it, but the text is almost complete and relates the campaign of Magan. This campaign, first mentioned in a text of omens, is related as an accomplished fact in this contemporary document bearing the name of the King of Magan. Various fragments of the same statue of Naram Sin have been brought to light and when, with the progress of excavation, all the pieces shall have been found and identified, we shall have really a special museum of Naram Sin.

Among the pieces more specifically Elamite we have the pleasure to speak of a brick mentioning at last during his life the great Kutir Naḥḥunte of whom Assurbanipal speaks:

Temti agun Sukkal of Susa
For the life of Kutir Na'ḥundi
For his own life
A temple of brick
To the god Išme Karab has built.

Here is a text pregnant with meaning. The régime of the Sukkal has succeeded in Elam that of the Patesi. This change of title in the official protocol did not take place without some serious reason. We find this reason in the change of suzerainty which, from that of Mesopotamia over Elam, became Elamite over Mesopotamia by the conquest of Kutir Na'ḥundi (or Kutir Naḥḥunte) about 2280 B. C.

According to this text Kutir Na'ḥundi lived at the same time with the Sukkal of Susa, or local prince, Temti agun who devoted to the Gods a temple for the salvation of both suzerain and vassal. The rule of Temti agun extended over the fief of Susa, that of Kutir Na'ḥundi reached beyond Elam and included the region of Mesopotamia. He was the founder of the great Elamite-Mesopotamian monarchy with an Elamite dynasty, the list of whose rulers is preserved for us even to Hammurabi in the Babylonian and biblical records.

This brick gives us also a new Sukkal of which there are already a dozen. After knowing that there is another one, can we believe that Hammurabi is to be placed about 2250 or 2240 B. C.? A great illusion! Since we are not able to push back the date of Kutir Na'hundi on account of the testimony of Assurbanipal, it is necessary that the other end of the dynasty, Hammurabi, be brought forward as late as 2000 B. C.

The collection of the Kudurru, or terms of contract and titles of property, taken from Susa is the only one in existence, for the few originals that have reached London, Berlin, New York, or Philadelphia are not worthy of mention. We have three new complete Kudurru besides many large fragments. We know the importance for the study of Babylonian mythology of these monuments with their reliefs of symbols which, as we have shown, are divine emblems in the shape of seats or thrones, weapons, representations or allegories of gods. All are still of the Kassite epoch. We should be led to believe that never were people so concerned with establishing the rights of property and creating titles of fiefs as at that time. There are none so to speak of another epoch. One of these monuments recently discovered is, however, anepigraphous. It was taken when still in the workshops by the connoisseur-conqueror Šutruk Naḥḥuntī. But the text very likely would have taught us little. The usual formulas of this kind of literature are not varied, and with the exception of names of places and dignitaries of the court, the style is extremely monotonous from the surveys, the boundaries of the land, to the curses called down upon any violator of the deed.

I said that this *Kudurru* taken in the workshop of the stone-cutter had remained anepigraphous, but the lines themselves that were to contain the text had already been traced and remained empty on two faces. Fortunately we find exquisite reliefs of a character absolutely original with rows of gods on different levels which will be the delight of the mythologist. The whole is perfectly preserved and makes a very effective specimen for a museum.

To whom are we indebted for these marvels? To the King Šutruk Naḥḥuntī. Blessed be the great King Šutruk Naḥḥuntī who has made of Susa the center not only of the Elamite archives but also of the Babylonian! Thanks to his fortunate mania for collections! Because he gathered in his capital all the ancient monuments which he discovered both in times of peace and of war, as well in Elam as in foreign lands, the ruins of Susa are of all the fields of historical explorations the most fruitful and most interesting.

He was a true warrior king. His carrying off from Sippar in northern

Babylonia the stelae and the statues of Naram Sin, the obelisk of the laws of Hammurabi, the obelisk of Maništusu at Kiš, and so forth, leads us to infer something else than a pleasure trip into the neighboring lands! Warrior as he was, we must not believe, however, that desire for booty or some religious superstition was the only motive of his conduct in collecting ancient monuments! He certainly had also a pious regard and a real respect for the things of the past. If not why should he have exposed to such treatment the stelae of his ancestor Untaš Gal? We have found this year an inscription where he commemorates the transportation of several stelae from his native land, Anzan, to the temple of Susa.

But it is time to leave the account of the epigraphic finds to take up that of pure archæology. In Susa, objects of art are as varied as the inscriptions. There are no excavations in the world that have furnished more interesting specimens of work in metals and in jewelry. A statue of bronze of some thousand kilograms has been unearthed. It is a likeness of the queen Napir Asu, wife of King Untaš Gal, well known by all his texts. He ruled about 1600-1500 B. C. The clothes and the ornaments are not lacking in taste, while, from the point of view of the metallurgist, this statue is a proof of an admirable effort, considering the age. Other pieces of the first rank make still a good show when compared with this statue; for instance, a column (it is the second) about three meters high and bearing an inscription of Šilḫak In Šušinak (1100). The name "column" is not exact, for it was placed horizontally. One of these monuments has, extending around its shaft, a number of projections a small distance apart, which seem to have been bases for little statues or emblems.

It is useless to enumerate the snake-headed scepters and wigs for statues, in enameled sandstone and decorated with golden studs on the front and copper on the rest of it. But the head of a god in silver is certainly one of the most remarkable finds of its kind in the East. I should have attributed it without question to Greek art, if it had not had a pair of hands clasped in the manner of the other ancient statues of Chaldea. I am not afraid to say that it is a wonder. I am sure everybody will value it as highly as I.

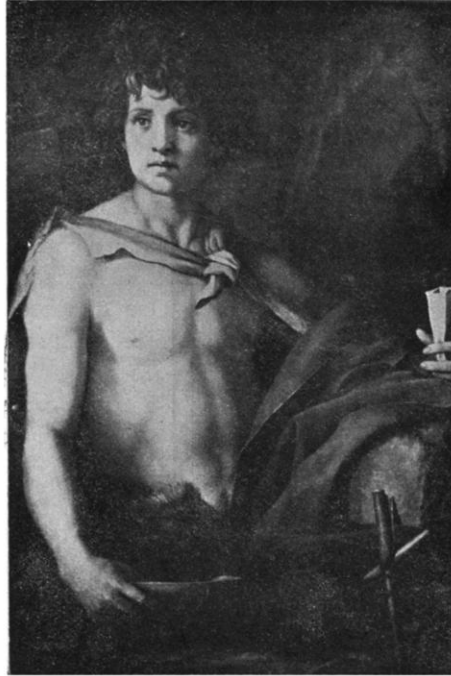
I am obliged to limit myself, for the subject is too large and too suggestive to mention everything; it is better to stop than to give a dry nomenclature or inventory.

Let us close with a word about M. Gautier's labors at Tepe-Moussian. Much has been said about some old decorated pottery found at Telloh, for example. The excavations of Tepe-Moussian have yielded an immense store of it which will delight the amateurs and connoisseurs in ceramics.

This consists of fine pottery, large vases perfectly preserved and finely decorated. As is to be expected, M. Gautier will publish them in the records of our delegation to Persia.

The results of the excavations of 1903-1904 are in no way inferior to those preceding, and I dare say that in some respects they even surpass them. M. de Morgan, we see, is always brilliantly successful in the memorable finds to which his name will be permanently attached.

V. SCHEIL.



JOHN THE BAPTIST.